2:Métraux--207 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga-
Chipaya

/204 cont./

Intelligence, character, and morality

123 Every consideration of the character of a human group, no matter how small, demands closer contact with the individuals than that which I was able to maintain with the Čipaya. The impossibility which I experienced in most cases of being able to communicate directly with them especially was an obstacle to my observations. The judgment that I make of the Čipaya is hence necessarily summary and without scientific grounds. The Čipaya inspired in me more disgust and antipathy than pity. Neither by their physique nor by their disposition did they draw the affection which the ethnographer /205/ from professional bent would be prone to offer them. Their
192 features are heavy and thick, and only a few individuals, products of mixtures with their neighbors the Aymara, present the handsome profile with the curved nose characteristic of the conquering race of the Bolivian Altiplano. Their short and thick-set body is made even heavier by the thick woolen clothing with which they cover themselves. Only their slender, well-formed legs are pretty to see when crossing
[515] a river. Their complexion would not be so dark if they would consent at least once in their lives to wash. The filth and the rags which cover them accentuate even more the wretched and miserable appearance of this group of human beings.

157 Intellectually the Čipaya are on a rather low level: they have a dull and narrow mind and visibly feel an aversion to any coherent
[538] mental effort. Without fantasy and without imagination, they have for their total literature only a few insipid and short tales, which anyway seem to be Aymara in origin. Some women are an exception to this rule and struck me by a certain vivacity in their character and intelligence. Two or three young people also appeared better endowed than the average member of the tribe.

157
46 The Čipaya nourishes no ambition, and the desire for any worldly gain cannot draw him out of his apathy. His movements are slow and measured, his ability to remain motionless is without limits. He seems to pursue constantly an internal dream which is always the

2:Métraux--206 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935. 1936 SP24 Uru SP24

Caranga-
Čipaya

/205 cont./

same. Boredom and silence overwhelm the village. The children themselves share in this general sullenness: they never have fun, so to speak, and have no toys. The men watch over their sheep with a vague eye or stay squatting in their huts chewing coca or doing nothing. The women, if necessity forces them, weave some coarse material or occupy their leisure time by looking for fleas on each other or by having the innumerable small plaits of their hair made.

The Čipaya are nonetheless much more congenial and pleasant than their neighbors the Aymara. They do not have the morbid mistrust of strangers which many of the Bolivians have inherited from the Aymara. They are also not so stupidly grasping and stubborn as the latter. The Čipaya are, without doubt, of all the Indians on the altiplano the most pleasant and easygoing. In spite of this dismal apathy which I have just noted, they are capable of laughing, which rarely happens among the Aymara, at least in the presence of strangers. They know how to appear well-wishing, and my relations with them were almost always excellent. I had difficulty with only two Čipaya, who, in the middle of a festival insulted me /206/ liberally. Their attitude, due to their alcoholic excesses, was severely judged by those present. During all the ceremonies in which I took part, I was the object of all sorts of attentions, and they never forgot to offer me alcohol and coca. This generosity was all the more touching as the poor Čipaya pay a lot for these products and, as a result of the crisis, had only a very little. I often received presents of small cheeses which were given me as a sign of recognition for a service or advice. Sometimes these humble gifts were made without any hidden reason, simply out of friendliness.

I never had to complain of dishonesty among them, but I have reason to believe, however, that they are not so scrupulous when it is a question of the property of other members of the tribe. Several small facts removed all my illusions in this respect. Life in Chipaya is not idyllic. Jealousy rages there like an unleashed and malevolent devil. No Indian dared to sell me the objects which I acquired for my collections in broad daylight: all feared the unkind comments of those near them.

/176 cont./

•539 317 on each side of the balsa (10, 12, 17) in order to make the two large side cylinders equal in weight, bulk, and compression. This is the delicate part of the manufacture, on which the stability and quality of the craft depend. The Uru use wooden hooks for this job (12). At the same time they compress the totora with a stone hammer (13), adding or removing totora as necessary; they water it from time to time to prevent it from drying. When the work is finished the middle cylinder, the heart of the balsa, completely hidden between the side

• [361] cylinders, is invisible. Depending on the size, the construction •539 251 of a balsa takes an average of three to six days. The life of a balsa is short; after having been wet they become heavy and rot inside; they are good for six months to one year in general.

The balsas used on the Desaguadero and on the low parts of the lake in the neighboring lagoons which are not very deep (Arapa, Umamayo) do not have sails (22), or only a very small sail, in contrast to the balsas on the large lake which they propel by sail. The Uru steer them with the help of a boat hook ending in three teeth, which they push against the muddy bottom (24). These boat hooks are identical to those of the

[361] Guaraos of upper Paraguay, who belong to the Nu-Arwak /Nu-Aruak/ linguistic group.

•539 193 From the point of view of grammar, note the frequent use of the repetitive particle -ʔu-, indicating that the action expressed by the verb is habitual. Also note the repetitions of words or roots to reinforce the idea expressed (3-12, etc.)

The verb kiʔ ʔay expresses the idea of carrying off, of lifting up, of raising (22-23); compare it with 4-5 of text III.

1 La Barre E-8 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus totora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skilful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A sling-cast bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Isla de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1934) 1955
8F34 Ulu 8F34
Tru 2Fw

Two men work simultaneously
396 tightening the braids with little wooden hooks,
[403] taking care that the two parallel cylinders have
[427] exactly the same size and weight, so that the balsa will not capsize. Herein lies the art of balsa-building. While the construction is in progress, a third man waters the cylinders, so that the reed remains
[412] slightly damp. For hours on end they tighten the cords, and with a little stone hammer they tap the braids together so that they end by forming a substance hard as wood. The balsa is then turned over, the two pointed ends are placed in holes in the ground, and earth is tightly packed around them, so that they may keep their form. Here they remain for several days, afterwards they are taken out, and a hole is made in which the mast is placed, and the
501 reed sail is attached to it by three cords. In the very small balsa the fisherman holds a stick to which a little sail is attached. The large balsas measure between twenty-one and twenty-five feet. They draw about forty cms. of water and can carry from eight to ten passengers. The small balsa is about seven feet long and carries two passengers. When not using a sail, they employ a long double paddle, or a punt-pole when circulating among the rushes. The
[361] life of the balsa is short: they are built in three or
[132] four days, but they are rarely deemed safe for use on the lake, where storms are frequent for more than six months in the year. Generally they end their days as punts which keep to the edge of the lake among the rushes.

126 The cameras were set up, and I took photographs and
123 then wandered up the river, where suddenly I perceived the raucous lady, who was if possible even more insulting than on the previous day. Seeing the camera, which she doubtless took for the eye of
[1188] Satan, she flung a stone which missed me by yards,
[201] and, uttering more curses, fled, making the sign of the cross and at the same time keeping her fingers crossed, so as to be well on the safe side with all the
126 forces of the supernatural. We had by now filmed and photographed the population from almost every